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BEFORE THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

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GOOD AFTERNOON. IT IS A PRIVILEGE AND A PLEASURE FOR ME
TO BE WITH YOU TODAY TO DISCUSS NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE MEDIA.
NATIONAL SECURITY HAS MANY DIMENSIONS BUT I WILL FOCUS ON ONE
ELEMENT -- INTELLIGENCE -- WHICH IMPACTS MILITARY FORCES AND
WEAPONS ACQUISITION, TERRORISM AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS, DIPLOMACY
AND ARMS CONTROL, AND VIRTUALLY EVERY OTHER ASPECT OF OUR
FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES.

THE WORK OF THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS MUCH LIKE YOURS. WE BOTH WORK AT THE COLLECTION AND PROPER PRESENTATION OF ACCURATE INFORMATION THAT LEADS TO INFORMED JUDGMENTS. OUR OFFICERS OVERSEAS, LIKE YOUR CORRESPONDENTS, WORK DAY AND NIGHT TO OBTAIN VITAL INFORMATION. LIKE MANY SKILLED JOURNALISTS, CIA ANALYSTS SPEND HOURS PORING OVER REPORTS FROM MANY DIFFERENT SOURCES IN ORDER TO PRESENT FACTS IN THE CONTEXT OF BROADER EVENTS AND ISSUES.

NEITHER YOU NOR THE CIA CAN DO ITS JOB WITHOUT HAVING SOURCES AND METHODS OF COLLECTING INFORMATION WHICH OFTEN MUST REMAIN UNIDENTIFIED TO THE PUBLIC. I AM REQUIRED BY LAW TO PROTECT THE SOURCES AND METHODS BY WHICH WE COLLECT INTELLIGENCE. THIS IS A SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY AND ONE I DO NOT TAKE LIGHTLY. YOU IN JOURNALISM TAKE JUST AS SERIOUSLY THE CONFIDENTIALITY AND PROTECTION OF YOUR SOURCES.

OUR COUNTRY HAS INVESTED TIME, EFFORT, AND TALENT OVER MANY YEARS AND SPENT MANY BILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO DEVELOP METHODS OF COLLECTING THE INFORMATION NEEDED TO ASSESS MISSILES AND OTHER WEAPONS AIMED AT US, TO DETERMINE THE INTENTIONS AND VULNERABILITIES OF OUR ADVERSARIES SO THAT WE CAN DEVELOP EFFECTIVE DEFENSES AND COUNTERMEASURES, TO PROTECT OUR CITIZENS AND INSTALLATIONS AROUND THE WORLD FROM TERRORIST ATTACKS, AND TO ASSIST OUR DIPLOMATS. GOOD INTELLIGENCE SOURCES ARE CRITICAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, INCLUDING OUR HOPES OF EFFECTIVE ARMS CONTROL AND THE SAFETY OF AND LIBERTY OF OUR CITIZENS. SECRECY AND CONFIDENTIALITY AS TO HOW AND THROUGH WHOM WE COLLECT INFORMATION IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR EFFECTIVENESS.

WE MUST CLASSIFY AND RESTRICT THE CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT HOW AND WHERE WE COLLECT INTELLIGENCE AND OF THE REPORTS AND ASSESSMENTS BASED ON THAT INTELLIGENCE IF THEY MIGHT REVEAL OR COMPROMISE OUR SOURCES OR METHODS. THE KGB AND OTHER HOSTILE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES SPEND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS EACH YEAR IN AN EFFORT TO ACQUIRE THIS INFORMATION. AND THE UNAUTHORIZED PUBLICATION OF THIS RESTRICTED INFORMATION HANDS TO OUR ADVERSARIES ON A SILVER PLATTER INFORMATION THAT THEIR SPIES, THEIR RESEARCHERS, AND THEIR SATELLITES ARE WORKING 24 HOURS A DAY TO UNCOVER AND USE AGAINST US.

IN RECENT YEARS, PUBLICATION OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
BY THE MEDIA HAS DESTROYED OR SERIOUSLY DAMAGED INTELLIGENCE
SOURCES OF THE HIGHEST VALUE. EVERY METHOD WE HAVE OF ACQUIRING
INTELLIGENCE -- OUR AGENTS, OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER SECURITY
SERVICES, OUR PHOTOGRAPHIC AND ELECTRONIC CAPABILITIES, THE
INFORMATION WE GET FROM COMMUNICATIONS -- HAS BEEN DAMAGED BY
THE PUBLICATION OF UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURES.

STORIES IN BOTH THE PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA HAVE SHOWN, SOMETIMES IN GREAT DETAIL, HOW TO COUNTER CAPABILITIES IN WHICH WE HAVE INVESTED BILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND MANY YEARS OF CREATIVE TALENT AND EFFORT. THIS, TIME AND TIME AGAIN, HAS ENABLED THOSE HOSTILE TO US TO ABORT HUGE INVESTMENTS, TO CONCEAL AND OTHERWISE DENY US INFORMATION CRITICAL TO OUR DEFENSE, AND TO DEPRIVE US OF THE ABILITY TO PROTECT OUR CITIZENS FROM TERRORIST ATTACK. LEAKERS ARE COSTING THE TAXPAYERS MILLIONS AND EVEN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS -- AND, MORE IMPORTANT, PUTTING AMERICANS ABROAD AS WELL AS OUR COUNTRY ITSELF AT RISK.

APART FRUM OUR NEED TO PROTECT OUR SOURCES AND METHODS, WE DO NOT WISH TO LIMIT YOU IN ANY WAY FROM GETTING THE INFORMATION THE PUBLIC NEEDS AND SHOULD HAVE. I BELIEVE WE ARE ALL WORKING TOWARD THE SAME GOAL -- MAINTAINING THE BEST AND MOST FREE COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. WE FULLY SUPPORT AND ADMIRE YOUR COMMITMENT TO INFORM THE PUBLIC AND THE DEDICATION AND INGENUITY WITH WHICH YOU MEET THAT COMMITMENT.

BUT I DO BELIEVE WE ALL HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES WE MUST BALANCE. IT'S A VERY DELICATE AND DIFFICULT BALANCE TO STRIKE. I THINK MRS. KATHARINE GRAHAM GOT IT RIGHT IN A VERY THOUGHTFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE SPEECH SHE MADE ON TERRORISM AND THE MEDIA AT THE GUILDHALL IN LONDON LAST DECEMBER.

SHE TOLD HOW A TELEVISION NETWORK AND A COLUMNIST HAD OBTAINED INFORMATION THAT WE WERE READING THE MESSAGES OF PEOPLE ARRANGING THE BOMBING OF THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BEIRUT. SHORTLY AFTER THIS PUBLIC DISCLOSURE, THAT TRAFFIC STOPPED. THIS UNDERMINED OUR EFFORTS TO CAPTURE THE TERRORIST LEADERS AND ELIMINATED A SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT FUTURE ATTACKS.

MRS. GRAHAM WENT ON TO SAY: "THIS KIND OF RESULT, ALBEIT UNINTENTIONAL, POINTS UP THE NECESSITY FOR FULL COOPERATION WHEREVER POSSIBLE BETWEEN THE MEDIA AND THE AUTHORITIES. WHEN THE MEDIA OBTAINS ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE INFORMATION, WE ARE WILLING TO TELL THE AUTHORITIES WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED AND WHAT WE PLAN TO REPORT. AND WHILE RESERVING THE RIGHT TO MAKE THE FINAL DECISION OURSELVES, WE ARE ANXIOUS TO LISTEN TO ARGUMENTS ABOUT WHY INFORMATION SHOULD NOT BE AIRED. [THE MEDIA] WANT TO DO NOTHING THAT WOULD ENDANGER HUMAN LIFE OR NATIONAL SECURITY. WE ARE WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN WITHHOLDING INFORMATION THAT COULD HAVE THOSE CONSEQUENCES."

I SUBMIT THESE PRINCIPLES APPLY WITH THE SAME FORCE TO COSTLY INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES AS THEY DO TO TARGETS THREATENED BY TERRORISM.

I HAVE WITNESSED ADMIRABLE RESTRAINT AND JUDGMENT BY
JOURNALISTS. I HAVE BEEN GRATIFIED BY THE READINESS OF MANY
OF YOU TO CAREFULLY CONSIDER SOMETIMES WITHHOLDING PUBLICATION
OF INFORMATION WHICH COULD JEOPARDIZE NATIONAL INTERESTS OR
TO TREAT OR PRESENT A STORY IN A MANNER WHICH MEETS THE
PUBLIC NEED, YET MINIMIZES POTENTIAL DAMAGE TO INTELLIGENCE
SOURCES. THE TRICK IS TO RECOGNIZE THE POTENTIAL FOR DAMAGE
AND TO CONSULT ON HOW IT MIGHT BE MINIMIZED. WE ARE ALWAYS
READY AND AVAILABLE ON SHORT NOTICE TO HELP ON THAT.

I HASTEN TO ADD, HOWEVER, THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF PREVENTING THESE TYPES OF LEAKS IS TO INCREASE DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. THE INABILITY TO CONTROL SENSITIVE INFORMATION IS DESTRUCTIVE OF THE MORALE OF PEOPLE WHO DO KEEP SECRETS, AS WELL AS DAMAGING TO OUR SECURITY. DURING THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, THE PRESIDENT HAS EMPHASIZED THE SPECIAL OBLIGATION FEDERAL WORKERS HAVE TO PROTECT THE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION WITH WHICH THEY ARE ENTRUSTED. WE HAVE INCREASED OUR EFFORTS TO UNCOVER THOSE WHO VIOLATE THIS TRUST. WE ARE STUDYING WHETHER NEW LAWS ARE NEEDED TO DEAL WITH FEDERAL EMPLOYEES WHO DECIDE ON THEIR OWN TO DISCLOSE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION.

WHEN OUR INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS REACH THE MEDIA, WHETHER AUTHORIZED OR NOT, WE ARE FREQUENTLY ASKED TO PRODUCE THE EVIDENCE WHICH SUPPORTS OUR JUDGMENTS. SOMETIMES WE CAN, BUT MUCH MORE OFTEN WE CANNOT WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING OUR SOURCES OR TEACHING OUR ADVERSARIES HOW TO DENY US NEEDED INFORMATION IN THE FUTURE.

IF WE CAN'T REVEAL OUR EVIDENCE OR DISCLOSE OUR SOURCES,
WHY SHOULD THE POLICYMAKERS OR THE PUBLIC TRUST INTELLIGENCE
ASSESSMENTS? OUR PRIMARY CREDIBILITY COMES FROM THE ACCURACY
AND RELIABILITY OF OUR PAST ASSESSMENTS AND FROM THE CONTINUED
DEDICATION OF THE PEOPLE AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE PROCESS BY
WHICH THEY ARE PRODUCED. OUR INTELLIGENCE PRODUCTS ARE THE
WORK OF CAREER PROFESSIONALS BASED ON INFORMATION FROM A WIDE
VARIETY OF SOURCES AND THE MOST SOPHISTICATED AND ADVANCED
INTELLIGENCE TECHNOLOGY WHICH EXISTS IN THE WORLD -- PHOTOGRAPHY,
SPACE SATELLITES, ELECTRONICS, ACOUSTICS, COMMUNICATIONS COLLECTORS,
SEISMIC AND OTHER SENSORS.

OUR NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES ARE THE RESULT OF LONG HOURS OF PREPARATION AND DEBATE BY ANALYSTS FROM THE DIA, CIA, NSA, ARMY, NAVY, MARINES, AND AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER COMPONENTS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. THEIR WORK IS REVIEWED BY THE CHIEFS OF EACH OF THESE COMPONENTS SITTING AS THE NATIONAL FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE BOARD AND CHARGED

WITH SEEING THAT THE RELEVANT INFORMATION AND JUDGMENTS HELD BY THEIR ORGANIZATIONS ARE AVAILABLE. AS THE BOARD'S CHAIRMAN, I SEE THAT ANY SUBSTANTIATED DISSENTING OR ALTERNATIVE VIEW IS REFLECTED SO THAT POLICYMAKERS HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THE FULL RANGE OF OPINION IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

IN A WORLD WHERE THE SOVIET BLOC SPENDS LAVISHLY ON NEW WEAPONS AND WORKS AGGRESSIVELY TO EXPAND ITS CONTROL AND INFLUENCE AT THE EXPENSE OF FREE NATIONS AND WHERE SOVEREIGN STATES, LIKE LIBYA, USE TERRORISM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY, IT IS INCREASINGLY ESSENTIAL THAT THE PUBLIC LEARN WHAT SORTS OF CHALLENGES HIS GOVERNMENT IS FACING.

WE MAKE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS
FROM BOTH THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES TO SANITIZE
OR DECLASSIFY INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION AND ASSESSMENTS IN
ORDER TO MAKE THEM AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC. PERHAPS THE BEST
EXAMPLE OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE
PUBLIC DEBATE ON IMPORTANT ISSUES OF NATIONAL SECURITY HAS
BEEN DIA'S ANNUAL PUBLICATION, SOVIET MILITARY POWER, WHICH IS
CLOSELY COORDINATED BY CIA. LAST SUMMER THE COMMUNITY AT THE
REQUEST OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS SANITIZED AND PRESENTED
IN OPEN TESTIMONY OUR ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET STRATEGIC FORCES.

MORE FREQUENTLY, HOWEVER, CIA MATERIAL IS DECLASSIFIED FOR USE IN OTHER GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS, SUCH AS STATE'S WHITE PAPERS ON TERRORISM AND TWO PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTED BY THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS ON SOVIET ACQUISITION OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY. WHENEVER INTELLIGENCE IS USED AS THE SOURCE FOR UNCLASSIFIED PUBLICATIONS, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE STAY WITHIN THE EVIDENCE TO MAINTAIN OUR INTEGRITY AND TO PROTECT THE POLICYMAKER.

THIS ORDERLY AND CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO THE PUBLIC USE OF INTELLIGENCE IS GUIDED BY THE HIGHEST GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES AND INVOLVES THE CLOSE PARTICIPATION OF INTELLIGENCE PROFESSIONALS. WHEN WE PROMISE OUR SOURCES CONFIDENTIALITY, WE IN MANY CASES LITERALLY HOLD THEIR LIVES IN OUR HANDS. AS WE RESPECT THE RIGHT OF THE PRESS TO GATHER AND PUBLISH NEWS AND APPLAUD YOUR EXPOSURE OF WASTE, CORRUPTION, AND OTHER MISCONDUCT, I HOPE YOU WILL RESPECT OUR RIGHT AND DUTY TO KEEP THE NATION'S LEGITIMATE SECRETS. AMONG THE THOUSANDS OF EDITORIALS ABOUT THE FAILINGS AND SHORTCOMINGS OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, I CAN RECALL FEW, IF ANY, THAT TOOK A PUBLIC SERVANT TO TASK FOR REVEALING CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. YET CLASSIFIED LEAKS ARE AT LEAST AS DAMAGING AS THE COST OVERRUNS, CONFLICTS OF INTEREST, AND OTHER TYPES OF MALFEASANCE SO PROPERLY CRITICIZED BY THE PRESS.

WE ARE EAGER TO DEVELOP BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN YOU IN THE WORKING PRESS, WHO PERFORM SUCH A VITAL FUNCTION IN OUR SOCIETY, AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, WHICH PLAYS AN ESSENTIAL ROLE IN PROTECTING THIS NATION.

AMERICA NEEDS A FREE, VIGOROUS PRESS AND IT NEEDS A SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. WE ARE BOTH SERVING OUR COUNTRY IN VITAL AND FUNDAMENTAL MATTERS.

THANK YOU.